

The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

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50c. a Year.

GUSTAVE HERVE ON THE STUTTGART CONGRESS

Noted French Socialist's Speech Relative to Anti-Militarism

Comrades, if I were a diplomatist, I would have said to you: "Oh! excellent impressions from Stuttgart. The Social Democracy (of Germany)? It is made up of men as anti-patriotic, as anti-militarist as we." But I am not a diplomatist, and I shall tell you very frankly my impressions.

In arriving there, I expected to find men powerfully organized, doing many things, very courteous, and very cordial comrades. On this point my expectations have not been disappointed.

I began to be a little restless on the Sunday on which the Congress opened, when, in a large meeting in the open air, I saw 40,000 German Social Democrats assembled, without my being able to discover amongst them a single policeman in uniform. That made me uneasy. I said to myself: "Can they be so well behaved? Can it be that these Social Democrats are such wise men that the Prefect of Police at Stuttgart leaves them thus to assemble 40,000 in the open air without incommensurate even a squad of police?" (Laughter.) My uneasiness changed to stupor while listening to the heads of the German Social Democracy. I do not forget that it is a brethren party; we are going to speak with all the respect which Socialist fraternity demands, but at last we are able to express ourselves freely and frankly to each other.

I have not prevented them from saying that I was an impudent and boorish person. (Laughter.) It is necessary that I also be allowed to give my personal impressions.

Here is the substance of the speech of Vollmar, the head of the Socialist Right.

"I put the ideas of Jaures and of Vaillant in the same sack as the ideas of Herve; it is the same thing. I do not understand how a Socialist Party tolerates in its ranks such a man as Herve. As for the proposal which Jaures puts before us, we cannot even examine it; let him withdraw it pure and simple."

While Vollmar was speaking, at my side there were other comrades, and amongst the Socialist delegates who had not voted for the motion of L'Yonne at Nancy: one could hear only these reflections:—"What an old Paunch!" (What an old blockhead!) (Laughter.) As for me, it seemed to me that I was listening to the captain of the territorial militia, making a speech to the veterans of the territorial and naval armies. (Laughter and applause.)

From Vollmar, this attitude did not astonish me in the least. As regards Vollmar, I have for a long time known that, if he were in France, he would not be wanted by the Radical Party. (Laughter.) But Bebel appeared to me with the prestige of a man who had been one of the workers of the early days of the movement, who has done eighteen months in a fortress for having protested energetically against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, with the prestige of an organizer of the first order, of an orator of great ability.

However, imagine my amazement when I heard him, for, by any provocation, he had been given the floor, and he commenced the speech—make this statement:—"The propaganda of Jaures is the same at bottom as the propaganda of Herve. This propaganda could not be carried out by Jaures; you must have a man at Nancy has voted for a motion, of which we cannot accept either the spirit or the letter. We cannot do anything here of that which you ask. If we were to carry on such a propaganda, if we were to speak of opposing instruction and the general strike to an order for mobilization that would only be done by a Socialist Party which would be destroyed under the blows of the law courts."

"THE SOCIALIST KAISER."

There you have exactly the gist of the first speech of Bebel.

And the second time, when he believed he ought to again take the platform in the Commission where there were collected all the great names, he said, with an air of curiosity, it was to explain to us for an hour that there would not be any war, that war was impossible, because it would cost too much; the war treasury of Germany would be found; you must have a European war; that the Government could not get up a European war; that, in consequence, there was no fear of a European war; and it followed that the motion of Nancy was a motion which signified nothing.

There you have the second speech of Citizen Bebel, the Pope of the German Democracy, the Socialist Kaiser, as I call him. And I am exaggerating nothing; it was only my personal impression but that of all the comrades who were found there. (Approximation.) In face of such like declarations, you may well imagine that I could not contain myself long. I had prepared a very specific exposition of our anti-patriotic ideas. I leapt on the tribune, and then, I said all that I had at heart, all that we have at heart: that the Social Democracy was an admirable voting and

dues-paying machine; that it was nothing more than that; that our German comrades were afraid of the price; that they had had no fear when they were agitating under Bismarck, of fighting for the preservation of their political situation and of their electoral seats; that they obeyed Bebel like a flock of sheep, as our German friends have often obeyed our friend Guesde. And, in finishing, I cried out: "Follow the flag of your Emperor; yes, follow it; and if you enter France, you will see flying on our instructions the red flag of the international which you have betrayed." (Applause.)

I ought to say that this speech very much upset Bebel, because, when the vote on the motion of Stuttgart was thrust upon him, it was arranged between the great guns of the party, that, in full assembly, the motion of Stuttgart would be voted for, because they were afraid lest Bebel should speak again in public.

There you have what was at the Stuttgart Congress, the attitude of the heads of the German Social Democracy.

NATIONALITIES AND PATRIOTISM.

Why have I been able to say, notwithstanding, that we had obtained—*we, the fatherlandless of France*—a victory at Stuttgart? Firstly, it was a first victory to have—in a large congress in Germany, in one of the Kaiser's towns, in a congress on which the journalists of the whole world had their eyes fixed—the question put which had never until now been put in Germany by the Social Democracy. I say that it was a first victory in the sense that if the heads of the Social Democracy, such as Bebel and Vollmar, have been bossing the show, they have found a motion thrust upon them by the press of the International, by a crowd of German delegates—a motion which said quite another thing, which said quite the contrary to what Vollmar and Bebel had said to us on the Commission.

When, in fact, does the motion of Stuttgart say? It says, not like the Guesdist motion at Nancy, that anti-militarism aims at the conservation of society as it is; that one becomes an anarchist or a dupe in giving oneself up to it; that, on the contrary, it is necessary to intensify the anti-militarist propaganda. At Stuttgart were passed in review all the efforts, even revolutionary efforts, to bring down the Kaiser, the mass movement of our Russian friends in order to put an end to the Russo-Japanese war. Care is taken to say, on the demand of our Russian comrades, that the international proletariat will profit by the next war to attempt to accomplish the Social Revolution.

And you should have seen with what enthusiasm the delegates of the German Social Democracy applauded the most cutting and tough passages of the motion of Stuttgart; you should have seen the ovation which the galleries, filled with German workers, gave me when I recounted the tribune of the congress in order to say to you, my comrades, that their speeches meant this and that the motion which was being voted on unanimously spoke white. Several German Social Democratic delegates were applauding. I believe, for Germans are far from being deficient in manhood; that, if the intellectual and moral Socialist leaders who have retained amongst us, until a ripe old age such men as Elise Reclus, as our old Blanqui, who, at seventy-five years of age, was in the front of the movement, and the young Citizen Clairaux; men like Citizen Vaillant—I say that if the official gang make me very uneasy, the rank and file of the Social Democracy give me a little more hope. I read the extracts from German Socialist journals, which Citizen Albert Thomas gives us in "L'Humanite" every morning, and I ascertain that several of these journals—and it is the first time that they have dared to formulate a criticism against Bebel—were held to say squarely that, to sum up matters, not only Vollmar, but Bebel himself, have justified a good part of the attacks which have been directed against the Social Democracy. And the opinion of many of these journals is that while the French, Italians, and the Russians have to learn from the Social Democracy its custom of dues-paying and its fanaticism of organization, the German Social Democracy has also much to learn from the French revolutionary element. (Approximation.)

DOUGH OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

To sum up, I believe we have carried through a little of the revolutionary leaven which will unclean little by little this heavy and massive dough of the Social Democracy, saturated with capitalist thought by thirty years of Parliamentary and electoral success. It is barely yesterday one of our Socialist Party began to move to the front. It is only three years since, at the time of my Tivoli-Vaux Hall speech, there was a regular concert of maledictions from the quasi-unanimity of French Socialists.

Those who have voted the motion of Nancy, who have developed much toward the left since, who have discovered "a sound and solid party in Herveism"—(laughter)—at that time—only three years ago—qualified these doctrines as vile, base, repugnant, and reactionary. Well! the laborer who casts his seeds on the earth knows well that it is not the following week that it will sprout. The corn which we have all together cast on this land here has taken three years to sprout.

Just as now that it may take root as much, and even a little more, so that it may sprout on the German soil, which is perhaps a little more refractory, I am convinced that I have no need to go to Germany to win the 15,000 francs of the wage about whom you know. [Herve was recently offered 15,000 francs for anti-militarist propaganda and refused.] Our Social Democratic comrades are big enough, are sufficiently class-conscious, not to be led into a war between the French Government and the German Government like blacklegs in international Socialism. (Applause.)

But, at the moment when we have just carried off at Stuttgart the victory—relative, I agree; this half victory, if you wish—at the moment when we have just put this question with its echoes and reverberations, it seems to me that we ought to have an open intelligence towards all new ideas, curious regarding all novelties. I recalled to mind the splendid part which he had played during the Dreyfus affair, and when, the other day, in the Congress, that Citizen Ranc, whose friendship is so precious to Citizen Jaures, wrote:—"I no longer recognized in the author of the speech of Tivoli, the Jaures of the Dreyfus affair; I, on the contrary, said, 'Hold! I am just beginning to recognize him.'" (Laughter and applause.)

That which hinders me from saying well about it, is that when I said some good of Citizen Ranc, he immediately made a little correction to say that it was not Herve who has said that, that it was "Flax" (Victor Meric) (Laughter.) In speaking well of him I have also the advantage of compromising him. However, to render homage to the truth, it is necessary to say that he has made an effort to aid us to put the question before the International, and it is precisely because he has made this praise-worthy, intelligent effort, do I wish to examine, without any bitterness, without any ill-will, the two objections which he presented the other day at Tivoli against our idea.

One of Citizen Ranc's objections is of a theoretical order, the other is an objection of a practical nature. Here is his theoretical objection:—"Herve and his friends do not take sufficient account of nationalities. Now, nationalities are facts; they exist; it is necessary to take account of them. They exist, and even in a humanity renovated by Socialism. It is certain that all the earth will not form one huge State, one unitary organization; but that actual countries will result, bound together by a federalist bond, and will sound in this renovated humanity each their particular note, and will give the advantages, the qualities of its own talent."

ANSWER TO JAURES.

I know, like Citizen Jaures, that nationalities are facts. I do not deny these facts. I have never denied them. The churches and religions are also facts, and the place of the Socialist and the Socialist Party. The whole question is to know if these are necessary facts, irresistible and eternal, and, above all, and over all, if these are facts which are advantageous to the proletariat. (Lively approval.) As for me, I know sufficient history to be aware that countries have without cessation developed from communes and petty principalities of former times to the large nationalities of today. I do not believe that in humanity renovated by collectivism or communism, in the United States, or Europe, or of the world, in a federation, if you wish, of communities, or collected or communist groups, I do not believe at all that the father-

(Continued on page 4)

Spokane Local Speaks Out

In view of the fact that the 15th annual convention of the W. F. M. refused to sanction any action relative to organizing a dual union to the I. W. W., and further that the stenographic report of the said convention shows that certain fakers and reactionaries did continue to have delegates elected to a convention to be held in Chicago, I have decided to further their deliverance from the shackles of wage slavery; in view of the facts that the executive board of the W. F. M. sanctioned the actions of one Shannon in organizing lumbermen in the W. F. M., when Shannon knew that they could not obtain charters by remaining silent, we, the members of Local 222, I. W. W., Spokane, Wash., think the afore-said executive board of the W. F. M. has unlimited gall to ask our officers and members to give all fakers and reactionaries due notice that when we wish our officers to resign, we of the rank and file will let them know.

In view of the aforementioned facts and the answer of our officers that appeared in the INDUSTRIAL UNION BULLETIN of January 25th, be it

Resolved, That we most heartily approve of the honest and courageous action of the G. E. B. and officers of the I. W. W., in their refusal to entertain this treacherous offer; and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon the working people of all of whom we are concerned in this affair, to investigate the matter for their own enlightenment and satisfaction.

E. DUYNSLAGER,
LEE W. WILLIAMS,
Committee.

Through I. W. W. Efforts

Through the efforts of Local 196 of the I. W. W., at Youngstown, Ohio, a large number of unemployed men have been given work on public improvements. The "Daily Vindicator" of Youngstown, says:

"The board of service was swamped Thursday by men asking for employment. All morning a half hundred or more crowded the ante-room of the board's offices and loitered around the hall on the second floor of the city building. About noon Servicemen Linn Evans took the names of a score who seemed most needy and worthy and told them to report at East End park on Friday morning. He has a gang of thirty laying a sewer in the park now and it is his plan to lay these men off after they work the rest of the week, giving the others a chance to make a little money. The men will be employed in three-day shifts as long as there is not sufficient work to give all steady jobs. As soon as possible a larger gang will be put to work grading the new road."

All sorts and conditions of men, young and old, have applied to the service board. Servicemen Evans endeavors to give the worthy applicants justice (?) He asks each man a series of questions, and then, if he is one of the most American citizens; residents of Youngstown, with others depending upon them, are being given the preference."

Order These Leaflets

There is at general headquarters a supply of Romanian leaflets on Industrial Unionism that were printed in response to a demand for literature in that language. We want them to move out quicker. Get them going in your locality. Let us hear from Granite City and Edwardsville and other places where Romanian workers are.

These Yiddish leaflets are also moving too slow. Let New York, Rochester, Buffalo and other centers get busy and put these into the hands of those who need them.

Look over the list of our publications in all languages on page 3 and send in an order at once; now is the time to make Industrial Unionists and yours is the opportunity; prove yourself equal to it.

Information Wanted

All persons who contributed to the strike fund of Local Union No. 384, of Spicers, Mont., during its trouble in February and March, 1907 (at which time the local was supporting the reactionists), are requested to send their names and amounts contributed to the financial secretary, F. E. Miles. The information is necessary to complete the record and give proper credit to all contributors.

Miss Flynn's Lecture Tour

Correspondence relative to Miss Flynn's proposed tour in the West, should be addressed to Joe. Levy, 323 E. Fifth street, Los Angeles, Cal. (See also Card Rate), or to Vincent St. John, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago.

Last week we had a call from A. G. Allen, of Salt Lake City, Utah, who left general headquarters a substantial proof of his interest in the organization.

Correspondence Relating to Minutes of Executive Board


The following correspondence is published on request; it relates to the minutes of the G. E. B. meeting in New York, and is self-explanatory:

"Clifford St., New Bedford, Mass., Feb. 15, 1908.

"Wm. E. Trautmann,

"Fellow Worker."

"I regret to say that my predictions are being verified in regard to the publication of the DeLeon-Connolly affair in the Bulletin. Since writing you last on Feb. 1, I have received the Bulletin for that date. On account of living on the outskirts of the town I do not get my Bulletin till Monday and this along with loads of work here explains the delay taking this matter up. I was not surprised but very much disappointed to see the first installment of the DeLeon-Connolly affair in the Bulletin. I distinctly remember Katz quoting from the minutes of the G. E. B. meeting on Feb. 1, 1908, that when I looked over the minutes and came to that point which dealt with the DeLeon-Connolly affair, as agreed on by the 'Fellow Worker Connolly's statement,' it would be able to shield himself behind this is correct. Campbell failed to corroborate Connolly." Point 4, this I wrote on the margin do not think that I distinctly remember Katz agreeing that he did not see the minutes, but I distinctly remember that he was not sure of it. You start out by saying that 'all members of the G. E. B. except Katz agree that the minutes of the G. E. B. meeting on Feb. 1, 1908, were not published in the Bulletin until Jan. 24th, opposing the publication of the DeLeon-Connolly affair, as agreed on by the 'Fellow Worker Connolly's statement,' and etc.' and etc. is a point to me. The publication of the minutes was not enough in all conscience, but I consider that the minutes in point of the work done in the whole bunch, as this chain of evidence dealt largely with the domination of the Catholic Church over affairs in the labor movement and etc. In my opinion, the minutes are not enough in all conscience, but I consider that the minutes in point of the work done in the whole bunch, as this chain of evidence dealt largely with the domination of the Catholic Church over affairs in the labor movement and etc. In my opinion, the minutes are not enough in all conscience, but I consider that the minutes in point of the work done in the whole bunch, as this chain of evidence dealt largely with the domination of the Catholic Church over affairs in the labor movement and etc. In my opinion, the minutes are not enough in all conscience, but I consider that the minutes in point of the work done in the whole bunch, as this chain of evidence dealt largely with the domination 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The Industrial Union Bulletin

PUBLISHED BY THE
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

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CHICAGO, FEBRUARY 29, 1908

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM INDISPENSABLE

No truer declaration was ever made than this: "The working class alone can achieve working class emancipation." Upon the ability of the working class to organize and enforce its just demands depends the future, not alone of the workers themselves, but of civilization. The governments of all countries are manipulated in the interest of the parasitic classes. The law books of all countries are filled with enactments in the interest of property of the parasitic classes. The law-making assemblies of all countries have one aim—political power concerning place and property. The welfare of the working class is everywhere a matter for secondary consideration or none at all.

The working class would occupy no houses if it built none; it would freeze if it mined no fuel, starve if it made no bread, perish if it weaved no clothing. And just as its existence depends upon making clothes, raising food, mining fuel and building shelter, so does its future supremacy depend upon one thing alone: Can the working class organize to get possession of the instrumentalities by the use of which civilization is maintained? If this can be done emancipation of the working class by that class is a possibility, and the all-important question relates to the form and the methods of its organization.

Taking it for granted that the freedom of the working class from capitalist exploitation means the social control and operation of the means of production and distribution—that is to say, Socialism, then the sole object of the workers should be to perfect that form of organization without which their mission can not be performed and their emancipation is impossible.

At no time in the history of the Socialist movement has so much attention been drawn to the impracticability of much that goes under the name of Socialist propaganda, as in the past three years since Industrial Unionism appeared with its Constructive organization and program. During the formative stage of its existence, in spite of internal strife and divisions, the I. W. U. has forced a review of old positions and a change of attitude in many quarters as to how the working class could achieve the Industrial Commonwealth. It is now no uncommon thing to find the industrial form of organization held up as the indispensable means to the accomplishment of that end. Nearly all the talk about "constructive socialism"—the ideal of the underdone socialist—is talk for constructive bourgeois reform and not at all for Socialism. It is talk for a government ownership that would leave the working class no better off than capitalist ownership, since the government properties would be mortgaged to the capitalists and the latter, freed from the worries of management, would be even better conditioned than they now are.

A true Constructive Socialism requires the Industrial Union of the workers; it constructs not in the interest of the capitalist class nor for the perpetuation of capitalist class power, but for the transfer of that power from capitalists to workers. This transfer can be effected only in the mill, mine, factory and other places where labor is employed; it can be effected only by the economic organization of the workers, for it is only through their own skill, ingenuity, endurance and courage, their ability to control and operate the means and opportunities of employment, that they can hope to free themselves from the shackles of wage slavery.

Industrial Unionism is Constructive Socialism. There may be government ownership but there will be no Socialism for a working class that does not organize to take and hold that which they produce by their labor as well as the tools of production.

A RULER BY DIVINE RIGHT

A short time ago, in the city of Chicago, a certain well-known bishop of the Catholic church delivered a notable address in which the present incumbent of the office of president of the United States was extolled in most usual and extravagant terms. The eulogy was neither creditable to the intelligence of the man who uttered it nor to him upon whom it was bestowed. The bishop did not hesitate to include the president in the category of rulers by DIVINE RIGHT. He declared that whoever "opposed the WILL of the resident opposed the will of God," and admonished those who listened to him to be prepared to draw the sword in defense of this conception of rulership.

We do not care now to say a word relative to the old world and un-American ideas entertained by Bishop Muldoon; their inappropriateness is so clearly apparent that nothing need be said. The really interesting point is that the present incumbent of the presidency, who was elected by a system of political jugglery and the money of corporations, seems to take the matter seriously as the bishop and regards himself as one of the earth's NOINTED RULERS with the divine afflatus resting on his head.

Not until Roosevelt came to the "throne" has any American president welcomed the advent into the world of princes and princesses. As one of the rulers of the earth, whose "will" must not be opposed, who speaks with divine authority, the anointed one sends messages of congratulation to kings when the tribe of royal parasites is increased. According to an Associated Press dispatch from Rome, dated February 19th, Ambassador Griscom as sent officially to King Victor Emmanuel through Sig. Tittori, the foreign minister, a letter from President Roosevelt congratulating his majesty upon his birth on November 13, 1907, of a daughter, the Princess Giovanna. The king expressed his pleasure at the receipt of this communication, particularly as the observance is a new departure for the American government. In the past the United States took no notice of such events.

A new departure, indeed! One that reveals more clearly than any state account against "predatory wealth" or aspech on the brotherhood of capital and labor the inner mind of our present "king." It is the mind, not of an American inspired with American ideals, but of the mediaevalist aristocrat who, like Baer of Pennsylvania, believes he is in partnership with some almighty god in the ruling business.

"LAW AND ORDER" GANG AT WORK

The last Congress passed a proposed national nine-hour law for railroad telegraph operators. The same is scheduled to take effect March 1st. This law was enacted in part through the efforts of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, but mainly by the pressure of the middle class, who, as usual, care at a whit whether the operators work twenty-four hours out of every twenty-four, but see the danger to their precious lives in wrecks occurring on working minors—underpaid, inexperienced and overworked—as telegraphers.

For months the railroads have been carrying on a secret and concerted movement to thwart the enforcement of the law; they have been discharging operators with the intention of creating a surplus of operators in the United States in order to counteract any action on the part of the operators' union in their non-compliance with the law.

It is estimated that there are now 10,000 unemployed telegraphers in the United States. The railroads had a hearing before the Interstate Commission on February 27th for an "extension of time." It is evident that they have no hopes of entering the courts, where they may reasonably look for a square deal, winding up in the Supreme Court, where they bank on the income which that capitalistic-minded body in applying the only "unconstitutional" law.

If the law is set aside it will be one of the most flagrant pieces of under-work accomplished by the "law and order" brother-to-labor gang in ours.

Through a "mutual friend" we learn that Sherman now seeks to be absolved from responsibility for the hiring of professional sluggers after the convention of 1906, to defeat the will of the majority; he admits that the p. a. were paid with W. F. M. money and throws the responsibility for their employment on Mahoney and others in the W. F. M. He says he resisted the advice of Mahoney et al. for two hours before he yielded. We are not disposed to question the report, since we believed at the time that the slugging was framed up by Mahoney to get St. John and Heslewood. However, we shall have to leave the matter with Sherman and Mahoney for settlement, since they have now both disavowed responsibility. Even if this latest report is all true, it simply furnishes additional evidence of Sherman's unfitness for the position he held.

The last political election in New York was practically decided by less than 30,000 votes, we are told; and the "discovery" has been made that at least 30,000 fraudulent votes are cast at every election in Manhattan and enough. It is now proposed as a means of eliminating these votes to require the registering of thumb prints of each elector. Why not apply the entire Bertillon system of identification to every voter? Then there would be nothing else for us to do but give all our time to politics. What a grotesque thing capitalist government is!

The contract with employers to which the A. F. of L. is devoted is "sacred" only so long as it serves the purposes of employers. The Rio Grande railway is charged with willful violation of the contract with its machinist employees. The contract provides that "if either the company or the machinists wish to change the agreement, a notice of thirty days shall be given." But the company, without notice, announced its intention of annulling the contract, and the machinists going to do about it?

B. H. Williams, member of the general executive board, had a well attended and successful meeting at Philadelphia on Sunday, Feb. 16. The organization in the Quaker city is making rapid advances. The Dyer's local recently started took over seventy members at its last meeting, and 500 employees of the city have decided to apply for a charter.

The mine owners' thugs at Goldfield, Nevada, are beginning to throw off their reserve and display their teeth. A few days ago, William Jurgens, who is well known to readers of this paper, was beaten up by a mine owner's gunman. This incident shows that the mine bosses of Goldfield have not abandoned the methods which in the past have given them notoriety.

Of course when Gov. Hughes says that "the people of this country do not desire Socialism," he means some of the people. The governor should be a little more careful in his use of terms. He assumes too much. He is quite ready to believe that some of the people do not desire it, including the governor; but the governor don't speak for all of us.

Smart lot of fellows, those Southern Democrats! Left it to a woman to bring the facts concerning involuntary servitude and peonage in the South to the attention of Congress. Then they would have denied it in the interest of capitalists, their friends, had not the evidence submitted by Mrs. Quackenbush overwhelmed them.

A. M. Stinton, editor of the "Wage Slave," and national committeeman of the S. P. from Michigan, says: "The 'Wage Slave' is in favor of Industrial Unionism, in fact we see no such thing as Constructive Socialism possible without it." He also says: "We believe in the I. W. U., and in the so-called 'Trautmann faction' in particular."

It is reported from Washington that Roosevelt has made up his mind that "God knows" Taft will never do for candidate of the G. O. For president and will take the nomination himself.

"Hitch your wagon to a star," says the preacher. It's all right; but how is a man going to hitch his wagon if his nose is hitched to a grindstone?

"Grape Nuts" Post Caught

It has been proved in court that "Grape Nuts" Post is conducting a fraudulent business. At Altoona, Pa., Pure Food Agent H. L. Banzhoff brought suit against one of Post's local agents on the charge of selling "Grape Nuts" for sale. The case was set for trial at Altoona, Pa., on Feb. 25th.

First—That in no case shall our delegates withdraw from the convention except by unanimous consent. Sixth—That our delegates shall not support for office any man who may have held office in connection with either of the factions of the I. W. U.

Seventh—That the delegates regard their first duty to promote every measure tending to unite the entire working class and to place full power in the hands of a collective membership.

In conclusion we recommend that at least five delegates be elected to attend the proposed convention, and that each organization, sending delegates, shall name a delegate to act on the credential committee. Resolutions submitted.

Chicago Watch Sale

For the information of those interested in the disposal of a watch for the benefit of a worker in distress, which was dated for Jan. 25th at Friedman's Hall, Chicago, we wish to state that delay in holding sale was in order to enable those having stubs to send them in.

The watch has become the property of I. Mott, of Blytheville, Pa., and has been forwarded to his care.

H. J. FRIEDMAN, B. FISHER, ROBT. THURMAN, Committee.

Protest From Buffalo and a Reply Thereto

Resolutions adopted by Local No. 43, I. W. U., Buffalo, N. Y., Feb. 18th, 1908. The Bulletin of Jan. 25, has two pages filled with an attack on the W. F. M. and its officers. While professing an answer to their invitation to the proposed conference, it was in reality an attack on the entire organization as the officers were only carrying out instructions.

Since the first of last November a large part of almost every issue of the Bulletin has been devoted to attacks on the W. F. M., through its officers and the personal feuds of the general officers and General Executive Board of the I. W. U., to the exclusion of resolutions submitted by local unions.

The destructive tactics pursued by the general officers for the last four months have unfitted them for any useful constructive work in the future.

The accusations in the answer of craft spirit based on the minutes, and the industry, was the stepping stone to civilization, is unfounded and has no bearing upon the position taken by the W. F. M. of Morgan who is an authority on such matters, states positively that if the smelting of iron had not been discovered, we would have remained barbarians to the present day. As shown conclusively by fellow Worker Thompson in the Bulletin some time ago, there is every reason to believe that the 15th annual convention was not held, and no invitation to attend it was ever extended to this organization, although the other organizations named in the resolution were notified or invited. So much for the carrying out of instructions on the part of the officials of the W. F. M. Neither do the terms of the resolution adopted by the 15th annual convention give power to the executive board to insert any such condition as demanding the resignation of any such motive as the W. F. M. as a step towards unification of labor's forces on the economic field.

The answer is a compilation of truthful facts, and truthful facts have always been considered by men of the character of a majority of the present W. F. M. Executive Board as being an attack upon them.

No resolution submitted by local unions for publication in the Bulletin have been excluded, neither has the Bulletin taken up any attacks on the W. F. M. since November last. Space in the Bulletin taken up in any particular reference to the W. F. M. has always been in reply to an attack made by either some officer or member of the W. F. M. on this organization. The answer makes the position of the present officers of the I. W. U. plain, and need not be repeated so far as the resignations are concerned.

The Bulletin has not been used to gratify personal feuds, and no such motive actuates any one connected with this office in their attitude towards the W. F. M. or any other labor organization.

The matter of this conference was duly considered by the third annual convention of the I. W. U., and the stenographic report of that convention, No. 5, shows that a resolution providing for the I. W. U. participating in said conference was voted down 18 to 105, and that the delegate from local No. 43, Buffalo, N. Y., was one of the signers of this resolution, is recorded as not voting. The answer then can be considered in no other light than that the G. E. B. of the I. W. U. was following out the instructions given to it by the third annual convention. There is no need for the 16th annual convention of the W. F. M. to define what the first instruction passed for the guidance of their delegates to this proposed convention means. Page 854 stenographic report 15th annual convention 'W. F. M. discloses that those in favor of said resolution, while professing to believe that departmental autonomy was all that was meant by complete departmental autonomy. Amendment offered by Del. Barry to add "in matters pertaining to that department," and further amendment by Del. Cox, 251, page 85, to strike out the word "complete," were both voted down and it does not make any difference what the professions of a delegate or delegates may have been, the fact remains that these instructions mean what they say, not what somebody misunderstands them to mean or interprets them to be.

I would call your attention further to page 859, last paragraph, J. C. Williams, 90, member of the committee which drafted the instructions, who states that the Industrial Workers of the World.

This answer will be published with your resolution in the next issue of the Bulletin.

With best wishes to yourself and the membership of No. 43, I remain yours for real industrial unionism and economic freedom.

General Lockout of the Capitalist Class

note what you say as to resolution adopted at meeting Dec. 3rd last. There is no record in this office of receipt of said resolution that I can find, and it may be that it never reached this office. Will you kindly send me copy of said resolution.

The view of Local No. 43 relative to its rights in the columns of the Bulletin are correct, and the facts are that no local of the I. W. U. has had its rights infringed upon.

I desire to call your attention at this time to the condition of the resolution on receipt of same at this office, and to request in future matters sent here for publication be sent in without parts of the same struck out or interpolations inserted. The reasons for this are that this office has no way of knowing whether there is any authority for the striking out of certain parts and inserting others in resolutions sent to this office. I have no way of knowing in what shape the local union has acted on it. In future, resolutions for publication not complying with this course, will certainly be returned to the locals for correction.

The "Answer" is not an attack either upon the officials nor upon the organization of the W. F. M., and by no manner of reasoning could an attack upon the organization be considered as attacking the officials. The officials of the W. F. M. are not the organization, however much some of them may think they are. Neither have the officers carried out the instructions as your resolution states. The instructions adopted at the 15th annual convention provided for inviting the two contending factions of the I. W. U. (see page 788 stenographic report 15th annual convention, resolution No. 175) to a conference to be held October 1st, 1907. This convention was not held, and no invitation to attend it was ever extended to this organization, although the other organizations named in the resolution were notified or invited. So much for the carrying out of instructions on the part of the officials of the W. F. M. Neither do the terms of the resolution adopted by the 15th annual convention give power to the executive board to insert any such condition as demanding the resignation of any such motive as the W. F. M. as a step towards unification of labor's forces on the economic field.

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At a regular meeting of the Pittsburgh Local, No. 212, of the Industrial Workers of the World, the following resolutions were passed:

"Whereas, There is now held in this country, not in accordance with justice and law, but in violation of justice and law, three Mexicans charged with various crimes and when the parties that had them arrested failed to establish the charge, they then made another charge in order to keep them in jail indefinitely, and to eventually turn them over to their enemies; and on account of these false charges and long confinement they have our sympathy and financial and moral support; and desiring that law breaker or criminals should run at large; but that all should have justice. Therefore be it

Resolved, That we as citizens of the United States of America, demand that these men, E. Flores Magan, Antonio Villareal and Librado Rivera, now confined in jail at Los Angeles, California, be given a fair and impartial trial and that they shall not be deported to Arizona where it would be an easy matter for them to be kidnapped and taken to Old Mexico and there shot:

LEWIS LEWIS, W. H. DUNN, W. R. LEWIS, Committee.

Doubtless there are many who have read or heard of a pamphlet called "The General Strike." Now, although there are many meritorious things advocated therein, still it is in general a false in its conception of what the function of the economically organized working class will be at the final, decisive hour of victory over Capitalism. The integrally organized industrial workers will then be called upon, not to desert the plants of production, as the "General Strike" implies, but to stay in the shops, the mills, the mines, etc., to take and hold, and assume the control of production. We will not run away and leave the capitalist class in possession, but will stay for good and for all, allowing the capitalist to come in himself and produce there for himself. Of course, in the many struggles we shall have with the capitalist class, before the hour of the final contest arrives, we shall inaugurate the General Strike, and by so doing shall wrest many concessions from the enemy, but the General Strike in itself, implying as the name does a general strike of the workers, cannot possibly bring emancipation. On the contrary, we must stay in the shops and carry on production, in fact, "take and hold" and administer the same to the benefit of all. Therefore, differently to the idea of the General Strike—that is, the forsaking of the shops and the leaving of the usurper in control—as a means of emancipating ourselves, is the determination to "take and hold" the plant of industry, and lock out, not ourselves, but the usurping Capitalist Class. Let us, then, fellow workmen, fight shy of the illogical, "half-baked" ideas, and the false social concepts of the anarchists of all breeds, and so avoid the blunders that they perpetrate. The anarchist, of all schools, ever shows himself to be a dunce in the school of social science. He fails to realize that human society is an organism, an organic unit, and that it takes into account economic evolution. Anyhow, a little consideration of his doctrines shows him to be all at sea. Let us cease to waste our energies in thinking about him and his puerile theories, and proceed along the sure path that is lighted by the clear and steady light of practical, scientific Socialism.

HARRY S. CARROLL.

Free Speech Denied

On February 13th the first gun was fired in the city of Los Angeles for free speech. The gun was not a Colt's revolver, or one of Bob Evans' 13-inch cannon, but it was an intellectual bomb, thrown into the ranks of a sleepy proletariat.

The Industrial Workers of the World and the Socialists are leading the fight for free speech. A reporter for a certain conservative paper asked the writer how much sure he was that we have who believed in free speech. The writer informed him he would have to answer in the language of the little Indian boy in Colonial days. When the British general asked the numbers of the Revolutionists approaching a certain battle, the little Indian boy pointed to the leaves on the trees. I told him that this was the way I would have to answer him today in the city of Los Angeles. Industrial Unionists all over the world should know that Fellow-worker S. A. Stodel, New York, and Fellow-worker B. T. Weber, of Schenectady, now Secretary of the Mexican Defense Committee, were pulled from the soap box and arrested. I want to ask a question: How long will the working class stand for this?

Jack Wood, an English worker in the Socialist movement since 1889, was next arrested for speaking on the streets. How long will the Socialists stand for this?

Mrs. C. I. Decker, prominently known in the American Federation of Labor, was next arrested for speaking on the "soap box" and taken to the police station. I ask, how long will the "free-born American citizens" in the American Federation of Labor stand for this? It seems to the writer that when our wives, mothers and sweethearts are thrown into jail by the capitalist class for no other charge than talking for the working class, it is time to call a halt.

How the American Federation of Labor can keep on slumbering in the face of these facts is a mystery to me. If there is one spark of manhood left within them now is the time to assert it.

Will the struggle go on? We answer, yes. It will go on until all the toilers come together on the political as well as on the economic field and take and hold that which they produce by their labor.

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Los Angeles, Cal.

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ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

How Social Institutions Came Into Existence Through Changing Methods of Production

FROM THE PAST TO THE FUTURE

BY WORD H. MILLS

CHAPTER XVI.

From the very beginning the class that owned the wealth has ruled. First by the establishment of customs, later through the state, the instrument of civil government. Naturally, all legislation has been enacted to the benefit of the interests of the class that made the laws. As it was in the beginning, so it is today. Through all the ages since production for sale began the interests of one part of humanity have traversed and antagonized the interests of another part of the people economically; and for the reservation of "law and order" growing out of the consequent class antagonisms, a power of coercion has been maintained to keep the working class in subjection to the rule of the possessing class. This power is vested by the state in the army and the police. This public power of coercion exists in every form of the political state. The army of the Athenian democracy, was an armed public power designed to keep the slaves down; the police were created to maintain order. In the modern state these bodies are made up of slaves—wages slaves hired by the state to enforce the laws of the economically ruling class called "Civil Government," to enforce the legislative decrees of the usurping class. The code of these decrees constitutes the laws of the state.

Aside from their function of repression, armies exist only to waste and destroy human life and the products of the working class. They are legalized powers for wholesale murder. With the change from political society to industrial society armies will have no reason to longer exist. Even the police, as now constituted, must disappear as well. With the police and the army as a standing menace towards the masses, the exploited, the class which has set up coadjutor institutions—courts to interpret and pass upon the constitutional rights of laws. If any legal enactment is discovered to in any wise favor the working class, in countries where "popular government" prevails, there is always a judge ready to declare such enactment invalid. Sure and swift is the punishment meted out to working men who violate the law; for the rich, there never was yet a law through which a carriage and four might not drive.

The clash of interests between master and slave, and incidentally between seller and buyer in the market, has resulted in a series of class struggles that make up the real content of history. Antiquity did not know any abolition of slavery by revolution. The class struggles of the ancient world took the form of a continuous struggle between debtors and creditors, as in Rome, where they culminated in the ruin of the plebeian debtors; in Greece by the impoverishment of the great mass of free citizens; in the middle ages by the ruin of the feudal lords who lost their political power together with the economic basis on which it was established. Later, on the ruins of serfdom, modern capitalism has planted the seeds of the last fruits of all the ages of struggle for the possession and control of the surplus of the worker's product is the realization that at the end of every period when the class struggle has reached a climax, the victors have simply changed masters and the external form of their servitude.

Yet, the student of sociology knows that the result of each struggle has marked a distinct advance, a step forward and upward in human development and in the development of social organization; and that the conditions that exist today point inevitably to a higher and better form of social organization than any that has preceded it. It has been truthfully said that every system of social organization contains within itself the germs of its own dissolution. We know that the present system—the system we call Capitalism—is even now in the throes of its collapse. Whether the age-long prejudices of the great mass of people can be overthrown in the next generation and new conceptions be generated by their environment so that the state may be catalytically transformed into industrial society, wherein the contradictions of political society shall vanish; or whether an intermediary form of the state called Government ownership shall for a time exist, remains to be seen.

Be it as it may, the people cannot achieve their freedom, the contradictions of class antagonism cannot cease to exist, short of the abolition of wage system, for all the evils of capitalist society are its corollaries.

It is the historic mission of the working class to work out and achieve its own emancipation. This process must inevitably carry with it the destruction of economic class rule. The working class cannot become free without constituting each member of society a worker, a socially useful individual. Such a fundamental change in social organization cannot be brought to pass by gun and sword. Society cannot be reconstructed behind its back. It can be done only when the working class, once educated to class solidarity, become organized politically and economically, and trained in the tactics through which the transformation shall be effected; and by the structural form of industrial society and in the character, purpose, and methods of its administration.

CHAPTER XVII.

The idea of government ownership under the political state as a means of emancipating, or even palliating, the economic condition of the working class is an illusion that may require practical demonstration to dispel. The working class will never be able to interpret social phenomena until they become conscious of the class character of present and all hitherto existing society. They must be made to understand that government ownership is nothing more than a change in form of the method of exploitation character-

istic of that protean institution we know as the Capitalist System—the system of wage labor exploitation; that it simply means the transformation of the power to exploit from the individual to the state itself; that government ownership would but replace private capitalism by state capitalism, which has no thought of abolishing the wage system, but would simply exploit the workers, and the class that administers would appropriate the surplus product of the exploited; and that the workers would remain wage slaves.

Inasmuch as the proposition of government ownership and control of public utilities under the political state is one with which the people will doubtless be called upon to deal in the not distant future, it is well that its nature should be understood by the working class. Let us, therefore, subject it to a more or less critical examination. This is done for the reason that any sincere earnest people who are not yet familiar with the laws of social growth, but who wish for the alleviation of the suffering of exploited humanity, are less into analyzing the political form movements and test movement that may present itself to them.

In the past, with especial reference to the United States, the attempts made towards the institution of government ownership have been confined to effort at a coalition between the small capitalist class, ever growing numerically smaller as a result of capitalist concentration, and the farming and mining interests. And like all other political form movements it seeks the assistance of the working class in order to "whip the large capitalist." Of such was the American Populist movement of recent years.

Any economic movement that promises permanence and revolutionary results must be superimposed upon the necessities of a distinct economic class numerically strong enough to successfully cope with all other classes in the struggle for existence. The idea of political government ownership has no such economic basis as to guarantee its permanence. Hence it would appear that its phenomena could at best prove but transitory in character, as is exemplified in Germany and elsewhere.

In recent years capitalist concentration has forced tens of thousands of small business men into the ranks of the dispossessed workers, has expropriated the farming element and permanently changed the basis of society from an agricultural basis to a commercial and manufacturing basis. The increasing intensity of the struggle for existence each day more and more rapidly adds to the proletarian army. This host, the army of the dispossessed, realizes more each day that its interests cannot be subserved by government ownership, and that the instrument of political state, but only by the abolition of capitalist society which is based on the exploitation of wage labor. There have come to be but two sides to the economic question of our time, the one side is the internationally organized capitalist class entrenched with all the power accumulated through three thousand years of government; on the other, the exploited, outraged and outgalled proletariat, becoming more conscious of its interests and organizing its forces for the conquest of the citadel of its exploiters and the mastery of the civilization its labor and brains alone have reared.

The supremacy of the capitalist class is based on the private ownership of the machinery of social production and their manipulation of the powers of government, the latter being the instrument through which they maintain and perpetuate their economic mastery and power of exploitation and by which they force their arbitrary will in the management of industry.

Not only does the capitalist class possess the economic and political power; they have also the money which makes both these possible. Now, the advocates of government ownership, who as a rule suggest the confiscation of the socially necessary means of existence, their talk is of purchase. Behold then the anomaly. Our government ownership friends propose to confiscate the electric light plants, the mill, mines, shops, factories, and lands. They offer the alternative to compete them out of existence. In either event the rights of the capitalist class are violated, the rights they would be under the necessity of borrowing the money from the capitalists. In the second they would have to buy from the capitalists the coal and other raw material necessary for duplicating the enormously vast plants of industry. The proposition critically examined becomes a *redutio ad absurdum*.

Even were it possible to induce the capitalists to finance their plans, all the world could not supply the cash necessary. But, if it were, the capitalists would have to be satisfied that government ownership is in their interest and the interest of capitalist property. It is true that some public utilities have been acquired by the government in New Zealand, Germany and other countries, and that various municipal governments have acquired ownership of their public works. But, the railroads are small in mileage and value, comparatively, and the same is true of other utilities. Again the proportion of the population that constitute a significant fraction of the aggregate of the sum of exploiting capital.

Supposing that, under the pressure of a revolutionary movement whose growth NOTE—In relation to Government Ownership, one of the clearest booklets from the Socialist Party press is entitled "Hearings," by J. B. Osborne, of Denver, published by the Socialist Voice Pub. Co., Oakland, Calif. It, however, simply shows the futility of capitalist class administered government ownership. It does not go beyond the political state.

ing strength seems to threaten the stability and supremacy of the ruling class, the capitalists themselves should favor the government ownership of the means of life. It would only be done as a method of making more secure the whole of capitalist property. The value of capitalist property inheres in its dividend paying capacity. Today capitalist property is owned by a small collectivity called stockholders who purchase stock as an investment. If the stockholders were to transfer their property to the government, it would make but small difference to them that they received their profits in the form of interest from government bonds rather than as dividends directly from the profits on the privately owned industry.

There would, however, be this difference: Today the stockholders own only the individual properties constituting the plants of industry; as government bondholders they would not only have a mortgage on the properties themselves, but upon the entire property of the government, and the individual property of all its citizens, as well as a mortgage on the productive energy of the working class of the nation for generations, and at the same time have the government under capitalist control to will and perform the bidding of the small exploiting class that has ruled since the state first took form. Under government ownership the state would become a committee to execute the labor forcing capitalist class pays itself its own dividends, interests or profits—the surplus of labor's product.

An illustration taken from Osborne's booklet (see footnote) will serve to indicate how the capitalist class profits locally through municipal ownership: "If by such ownership street railway fares could be reduced it would increase the demand for houses in the suburbs and thus increase the value of such property. But the increased demand for houses in the suburbs thus created would also bring with it an increase in the price of rent to the tenant. We know today the renter down town who is forced to pay the rent, and the further out of town the lower the rent. I live down town near enough to walk to work, but have to pay fifteen dollars a month. Another man lives in the suburbs and has to pay three dollars a month to go to and from town, for at present we have to pay five-cent street car fare.

"Now we will take over the street railways, municipally own and operate them and admit for the sake of argument that we could reduce street car fare to one cent.

"The same principle applies to the municipal ownership of other public utilities. If, however, public ownership of utilities were to result in decreasing the cost of living, the capitalist class would immediately correspondingly reduce wages in proportion as the cost of living has been decreased. In the game of capitalism the capitalist class is the one who is fixed down to the neck of a goat's heel.

As heretofore pointed out, labor power under capitalist rule through the political state is a commodity whose price is determined by the cost of its production. As long as the wage system exists, whatever may be the peculiar form of political government, the entire wealth produced by labor becomes the property of the capitalist class. Out of this property it is the care of the capitalist class to see that the workers receive a subsistence and no more.

Continued next week.

All Right With Exception

Among the species of animals known as "man" (often confounded with "human"), there is apparent at all times a slight difference of opinion, and caused mostly by their general enervated and the individual, according to the occupation and position held by such individual, from immediate contact with anything that conflicts with the stand taken for or against a certain action.

The irregularity, which may be called a "phenomena," (?) prevents "man" from being infallible, and but for that we would have no class struggle nor any other kind of struggle to contend with.

Your answer to the "invitation of fakirs to become fakirs," could be nothing else as men who know the truth and are not afraid of it. But I wish to draw your attention to the fact that you attribute to the actions taken by individuals who without public consultation of the entire membership of an organization, the actions are supposed to represent, the action of the "anarchist."

Fellow-workers, put those fellows where they belong. "Anarchism" is a kind of "individualism," "despotism" another. The "invitation" that you received is all that you say, and more! Because, "as we derive it from the knowledge that we can clearly recognize a decoy for suckers when we see it, and the invitation is a decoy so dangerous that the slightest inclination toward it would call forth the concentrated fire of the party's ambush to demolish and demoralize

Industrial Unionism—Means and Methods—Active and Passive Action.

By Wm. A. Trautmann

CRAFT UNION BOYCOTT OFTEN A FRAUD.

As craft union methods were and are always applied to safeguard and promote the interests of groups of workers without regard to the interests of the working class as a whole, the boycott as used against so-called antagonistic firms rarely is prosecuted for the purpose of forcing them to recognize workers' rights and working conditions of employees. A boycott is often directed against firms for introducing machinery in the production of commodities; the boycott against the Cigar Trust by the Cigarmakers' International Union and the National Union of Tobacco Workers is a case in point. Neither of the unions mentioned would organize the employees in the trust factories; on the contrary, if an independent factory in which the workers should be organized in either of these two A. F. of L. unions is absorbed by the trust, a boycott is immediately declared against the goods of that plant; and the employees are immediately made scabs; that is, they are no longer allowed to be members of the union. The boycott against the "Pay and Night Tobacco Factory" of Cincinnati, for instance, is an example of what such methods are employed for; solely to protect the interests of a certain portion of employees, under the pretext that their interests were the same as those of the workers.

The Journeymen Plumbers, another organization of the A. F. of L., boycotts every employer who is not a member of the Master Plumbers' Association; and the organization of plumbers in plumbers' supplies, a part of such a combination, also boycotts such independent master plumbers, so to force them to become members of the master plumbers' association. Dozens of similar cases could be enumerated to prove the boycott, as used as a craft union method is not a weapon to break the employing class with.

CRAFT UNION LABELS—MERCHANDISE.

The fifty-six different craft union labels, now used by the various craft unions to designate that goods bearing that insignia are made by organized labor, are used so discriminately that, like the boycott, this method of protecting the interests of workers is rendered ridiculous. The labels are granted to employers with the understanding that they would be safeguarded against any strikes in their working conditions, in character, or in method of production. The labels are granted to employers with the understanding that they would be safeguarded against any strikes in their working conditions, in character, or in method of production. The labels are granted to employers with the understanding that they would be safeguarded against any strikes in their working conditions, in character, or in method of production.

The craft union labels are the emblems of divided craft interests; that's why there are so many of them in the market; they are used to keep the workers separated in method and ineffective craft unions; a menace rather than a benefit.

WRONG METHODS, WRONG ORGANIZATION.

But after all, even these methods, harmful to the working class as they are, cannot be used and applied except by organizations. The combination of interests between employers and craft unions is the strongest protection for the capitalist class interests and as pointed out by their mouthpiece, the capitalist class can rest safe in all its possessions as long as the craft union is not organized. The craft union is used to pit worker against worker, to produce the scab and strikebreaker, to foster and encourage ignorance and hatred of one against the other. The brickbats, stones and other weapons, the least desperate weapons when the strike is broken, partly created by the craft unions and their methods, hurls defiance at other workers who still cling to antiquated and outworn ideas and methods, in no way harm or injure the workers who keep themselves in safety and laugh and encourage such acts of violence, as long as workers only beat and kick down other workers. Organized as these methods are, they are responsible for such conditions.

But there is hope and inspiration. Decaying organism begets the germs for new life and new organic forms; the evils of craft unions and craft union methods will be eliminated by an organization formed in such a way that its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

PART II.
NEW METHODS AND NEW FORMS.
A portion of the workers, in ever-increasing numbers, recognize the fact that the working class and the employ-

all that continued propagation of the truth has effected.

Hoping that you understand my reason for objecting to the adjective "anarchistic" being applied to the actions of the writers, and that you are not taking anything for bouquets (bouquets generally have bricks hidden amongst the flowers), I am
Yours for freedom of the press
CHAS. A. MYERS.
Port Kusan, B. C.

ing class have nothing in common, and that the struggle must go on until all the toilers come together and take and hold that which they produce by their labor. As there is no harmony between exploiter and exploited; the former, by using the craft unions and their methods to their own advantage, could always hold their ground and remain the masters over the destinies of millions. The workers begin to see that they must prepare themselves, not only to hold their own against the aggressions of their oppressors, but also to destroy the fortifications behind which the enemy has entrenched himself in his possessions of land, mills, mines and factories. "What is of benefit to the employers, must, self-evidently, be detrimental to the employees," is the logic of the every-day professor of the workshop. Organization he sees on the side of the enemy; masterfully arranged, systematic, and in the hands of the employers, must, self-evidently, be detrimental to the employees. "The only method must be governed by the only consideration how the workers can gain advantages over their oppressors, and frustrate all efforts to disarm the workers by their manifold agencies."

INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION.

Organization on right lines, and for purposes outlined must be so constituted that all distinctions between crafts are eliminated, although for technical details the grouping of workers must be so arranged that the factory, mine or mill at which wage earners are employed can be controlled for proper and well directed action; either in the every-day conflicts or in the endeavors to achieve the final aim of such labor organizations are brought into existence. "A chain is not stronger than its weakest link," to the extent that it may be neglected to bring within the folds of an organization within an industry, or in the progress of social development is usually measured. Organization being the essential thing, as it is in the craft movement, but there solely for the benefit of the workers, the organization which is to equip the workers with the best instruments of warfare, must be so formed that every portion thereof forms a component, inseparable part of the whole body, depending in its actions on the movements of all other parts, so that every battalion and regiment is a component part of an army, and their movements and advances only a well directed part of the program of the whole.

The industrial union, in contradistinction to the craft union, is an organization through which all its members in one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, can act as a unit and adopt such methods by which the power, the might and the commanding position of the working class can be best exercised and demonstrated.

INDUSTRIAL UNION METHODS.

Wherever a factory system of production is established, wherever a few, by reason of their control of all means of life, use their economic power to exact profits from the labor power, the limbs and lives of the proletarian class, there are evident the eruptions of pent-up discontent, in intervals measured by the degree of power acquired through the various stages of the organizing process, great masses arise in one country or another, and from the convulsions vibrating through the universe the workers in other parts of the world, if they follow events, learn of the efforts of others to throw off the burden and to uplift the class. "Anarchy, riot, mob rule," is the tale of woe given by the news-agency of the ruling class, the capitalist class, throughout the world, through their pliant tools, are watching every move of the proletarians, for fear that methods adopted successfully in the conflicts of one land may be copied in another; hence, they would dread nothing more than see the working class everywhere profit from the experience of all and thereby avoid the mistakes which doomed others in their struggles. But knowledge is power; and to know the right methods applied in industrial unionism is every land upon the globe also is one of the essential requisites of those who struggle and strive to attain the quickest and best results in the war of the workers against the shirkers.

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ORGANIZED SPONTANEOUS ACTION.

"It was certainly shocking!"—What impudence of these workers in the electric power plants of Paris, part of which were even operated on the municipal ownership plan, to walk out in a body in 1907 without giving notice to the employing class! Indeed an appalling spectacle! All traffic stopped, all theatres, restaurants and amusement places dark; no lights in the streets; in fact industrial life brought to a standstill. The threats that troops would be called out scoffed at by the strikers. The prefect and municipal authorities pleading in vain for harmony and arbitration! Frantic appeals to good citizenship and the sense of duty towards the general public of no avail! All capitalist newspapers throughout the world were commenting on the apparent new features of the strike; the papers in the United States, with few exceptions, reminding editorially the good, law-abiding workers that such horrible things could not happen in America, where employers and employees argue and arbitrate, and enter into contracts during the life of which peaceful relations prevail! "France was at the brink of the revolution"—was the outcry, when the Paris Syndicalists (Industrial Unionists) gained every point the spontaneous action had been invoked for; worse yet, when three days later the subway employees demanded redress for their long standing grievances, these other workers who had been given everything they wanted prepared to walk past again to aid their fellow workers! That was of course, revolution on a small scale. There was no contract to give the companies and the municipalities notice when the workers would be ready to submit demands for consideration; unaware of the fact that the Syndicalists in these plants had organized the power to back up their demands, the employers listened cunningly to the expressions of "wants and wishes" and promised consideration, until they found that the economic might was something they had to reckon with.

The engineers could not be pitted against the firmen, and neither he played against the other branches of workers in those industries; all made common cause. The workers' achievements! All would have suffered in common hardships in case of prolongation of the conflict, and all were prepared to act as a united, well drilled body when the interests of their fellow workers in a kindred institution had to be protected. But because they had given a drastic display of the fighting strength and power of their industrial organization, the capitalists in other industries knew that the workers were not playing "a bluff game of bluff" and the strategic advantages gained

(Continued on page 4)

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INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

(Continued from page 2)

could be still more fortified by the constant vigilance exercised and preparedness for any emergency that would arise.

UNORGANIZED SPONTANEOUS ACTION.

"But"—our critics will say—"this display of suddenly aroused unity can be observed every season among the thousands of clothing workers in the various big cities of North America. Thousands of down-trodden workers act together as if they had been preparing and organizing for an impending conflict."

But there is a repetition at the beginning of every season, the same demands followed by the same claims of sweeping victories. The sweatshop system, according to proclamations, was time and again abolished as the condition of settlement of such strikes, yet with every recurring conflict there is the same outcry of scores of thousands against the appalling working conditions in these industries; every year the same conflagration—straw fire like—the same extinguishment. What is the cause?

ORGANIZATION ESSENTIAL FOR PERMANENT RESULTS.

It is evident that there is more required than a mere suspension of work, followed by apparently quick acquiescence of the employers, to hold and render permanent any achievement. In the cases cited last it is shown that the capitalists will quickly show that the capitalists will quickly make concessions in order to have their institutions operated when it is most profitable; but they know well that there is no organization vigilantly guarding the advantages temporarily known that the organization gains when established during the strike, the termination of the struggle.

It is the collective power of the producers, permanently brought into action, which is feared, and respected; suddenly aroused unity of action is only effective because it presupposes the existence of a well prepared and equipped organization. Failure to provide for permanent fighting bodies results inevitably in the loss of all gains made temporarily, as seen in the ever recurring struggle of the workers in the clothing and other industries.

INDUSTRIAL IRRITATION STRIKE.

What an army of workers, if well organized on right lines, and trained in the adoption of more effective methods, can accomplish was best demonstrated in the many irritation strikes, notably in the many industries of Russia; but also frequently in the United States. The textile workers, organized without distinction of crafts, ceased to work in the big factories of Poznan, Poland, and the workers of the "Pietriokki" of other factories in the district of St. Petersburg. Approximately 80,000 workers tried. About 80,000 workers tried. About 80,000 workers tried.

At a given hour, on a fixed day, all workers would suspend work suddenly, stay out for a week and see the manufacturers make all kinds of preparations to break the strike, even with the aid of troops and government authorities. And as spontaneously as the workers ceased to work they would return to their posts after a week or ten days' suspension; acting as if nothing had happened. The manufacturing thinking that all trouble had blown over, would start to run the factories full blast, to make up for time lost, until again, at a moment's notice, every soul would walk out again, only to repeat these methods over and over again until the manufacturing was demoralized, the factories crippled, and irritation of the employers enhanced by the fear that such a well-trained body of workers might exercise their power in other directions also.

Of course, such methods and tactics cannot be used effectively where the capitalists can induce a portion of the workers to stay at work, by offering them a contract or improved conditions; nor also in a thorough knowledge of the general industrial conditions required. Only when the factory owners have large orders on hand do they fear the constant interruption of operations; yet where workers are well organized for such tactics, notably in the metal industries in different countries, they have forced the manufacturers to employ the same number of workers during periods of market declines; that is the lay-off of all in the general industry, the workers do not even reduced to the reserve army of unemployed and were able to maintain what they had gained in the conflicts during busy periods.

IRRITATION STRIKES IN AMERICA.

In Granite City, Illinois, and vicinity, thousands of workers are employed in the big steel and iron works. Comparatively few mechanics are organized in these respective craft unions, but the large bulk, consisting mostly of Romanians and Hungarians, were not permitted to become members of any union, although many of them had been organized in their native land. When their working conditions became unbearable, the companies' officials soon heard of rumblings; and hastened to protect themselves by inducing a few native-born wage workers to organize into a federal labor union; they signed a contract granting a small increase in wages and a nine-hour workday. They thought that by these concessions to a comparatively few the latter would help to keep the other thousands in subjection. But the propaganda for industrial unionism also reached thousands of workers not organized.

One morning in summer 1906, there were standing at the gates of the big mills thousands of workers; but few only who could converse in English. When the whistles blew for the starting up not a soul would move; asked

by the company officials what they wanted one shout was given in response: "No work, if not \$2.00 pay!" The mechanics could not start to work without these thousands of helpers. No committees, no arbitration offers; Either \$2.00 pay, or no work. That was all. The company got police protection to disperse the masses, but suddenly, after two hours of idleness in the plants, the big throng poured into the mills to resume work.

A victory for the corporation; the workers were defeated! Next morning the same thousands stood at the gates, murmuring their demand: "Two dollars or no work." Again the amazed officials looked for help, but as suddenly did the workers again start up the mills. Three days in succession the same spectacle! Finally the corporations realized they had to deal with an organized mass, and they immediately got busy ordering the employment bureau to secure strike-breakers. The workers anticipated this move; and again one morning the officials were surprised to see all these men walk to their posts when the whistle blew. Several days passed; there was no need for strike-breakers; orders for them were cancelled; the company thought the strikers were again defeated.

A week passed and again thousands stood at the factory gates, shouting their demand: "\$2 per day, eight hours work." The bosses were stunned; again they saw the crowd resume operations the same day, and the same methods were repeated next day. This was enough for the companies; no union recognized; but the power of such well-conducted action and organized effort had to be recognized; and the men went to work next day with all demands accepted. Such was the impression of the demonstration of working class solidarity that even the craft unionists conceived the superiority of such methods; and the lodges of the Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers even voted in favor of joining an organization, that had conducted such a conflict with such new and startling methods, and so instructed their delegate to the national convention held at Cincinnati in 1906.

That the lieutenants of the capitalist succeeded in dividing these workers into no way alters the fact that such methods could only be effectively applied because of the compactness of the organization and the self-imposed discipline of the great mass of workers.

THE THEORY OF SUCH STRIKES.

The theory advanced by the craft unionists for their particular methods applied in strikes and lockouts is that the leaving and staying out of the workshops, until the union's demands are accepted to, or a sort of compromise made, curtails the opportunity of the capitalist to exploit labor for profit. But the employers, knowing the weakness of the craft-unions and their methods, are always prepared; and they have, when necessary, enough workers available to continue the operation of the establishments in long-drawn-out conflicts; the workers alone pay the costs of conflict; "slave-bleeding," the term used by industrial unionists, implies that the resources of the striking craft unionists are exhausted by such a protracted strike; and they are then at the mercy of the employers of labor.

The theory of the industrial unionist is that the heavy burden of the class conflict should fall as much as possible upon the manufacturers; and that the methods of warfare should be governed accordingly. The industrial unionist, as demonstrated in hundreds of cases, recognizes the fact that by leaving the workshop the same is a solutely left in control of the employers and he is at liberty to engage new hands if he cares to. The industrial unionist may leave the factory, mill or mine, and return to work, only apparently defeated when he realizes that the points contended for can not be gained; and the industrial unionist, by maintaining the organization, can be ready at any time to institute well directed actions at times and places selected by the working class organizations when chances for success are more promising.

CONTRACT GIVEN UNDER DURESS NOT BINDING.

"But the manufacturers may impose their terms before allowing the resumption of work, and demand as a condition of reinstatement that all workers sign papers containing the ultimate of any kind of organization, reduced wages, etc. Failure to comply with such terms would mean a continuation of the strike, or lockout, and by the working place being closed against the obstinate rebels they would have no opportunity to apply such fighting methods as are here portrayed."

The industrial unionist, however, holds that there can be no agreement with the employers of labor which the workers have to consider sacred and inviolable.

The worker, if he agrees to the terms of a contract insisted upon by an employer as condition of employment does so under duress; he is neither legally, nor morally bound to respect such an agreement as a sacred pact; moreover, such contracts are used, as shown in this treatise, as instruments to keep the workers divided; the benefit of a contract is always on the side of the employer.

The industrial unionist will therefore sign any pledge, and renounce even their organization if necessary, at times when they are not well prepared to give battle, or when market conditions render it advisable to lay low; but they will do just the reverse of what they had to agree to under duress, when occasion arises to gain advantages for the workers.

The big gun and steel works of Krupp's in Essen, for instance, made employment in the various factories conditional upon the signing of the so-

called "Reverse," in which the worker would agree not to join any industrial union (revolutionary union) or encourage the propaganda for the principles of industrial unionism. All workers were advised to their contract to sign anything the employers wanted, but do anyway whatever was best for the protection of their interests as workers.

The result was, not only in those mills, but in hundreds of others, that the employers, although having the pledge of every employe not to belong to any industrial union, see themselves confronted by powerful economic organizations of workers, and although they do not recognize the unions in any collective bargain agreement, yet they cannot help but reckon with the power and might of that collective agency of the workers—they know now that such militant bodies are undestroyable.

Herve on Anti-Militarism

(Continued from page 1)

lands, the great actual conditions, in their modern limits, will necessarily exist. I believe, on the contrary, that these large corporations, which make in any large nations, with the centralization which large States carry with them, that these large communities in Europe renovated by Socialism, in the world renovated by the Social Revolution, will be replaced from the present day by other large vast federations of regions much smaller, of natural regions which will be possibly very different from the artificial groupings which the fortunes of arms have formerly made. (Lively applause.)

But all that belongs to the realm of metaphysical speculation. All that does not interest me. What interests me before all is to know whether or not the present day has more advantages than disadvantages. Well, I hold that at the present day there have for the proletarians much more disadvantages than advantages. Countries, nations, national formations, have been useful; I believe that national unity in France, in suppressing the dust of the feudal States which were tearing at each others throats, in suppressing the inland revenues levied in the provinces, in suppressing the administrative barriers which cause, up till 789, ancient provinces in France to be strangers to one another; I believe that national unity which became cemented by the work of the Revolution, has done a good work; I believe that in causing all the frontier barriers to fall, the formation of the French nation has been a work of union, has brought men together. Likewise, I believe Germany, in suppressing the dust of the German States, the frontiers bristling with customs duties, has allowed the great economic development of modern imperial Germany. I believe, likewise, that national unity in Italy has favored the development of the economic prosperity of the Italian Peninsula, which was thwarted by the dust of the little monarchic States prior to 1859. I believe that there was a time when the suppression of the feudalism, in suppressing the barriers of the interior, drew men together by the creation of large human groupings. (Approval.)

But today this work is at an end; the nations are formed. Is it not the case that the fatherlands and patriotisms which from them have the same usefulness? Is it not the case that, instead of uniting men, the fatherlands today divide them? The frontiers of which we are today are not the frontiers of which we were once; which masses more and more of the means of production and exchange, exploits a miserable herd of beasts of burden,—weaned from all joys of intellectual existence, and well-being from the comforts which the sciences of science places at the service of the privileged ones of fortune. (Approval.)

At the present time, in the inside of the National Chambers, a wonderful class conspiracy is going on; a wonderful class conspiracy of the primary schools and the large capitalist journals with monstrous circulations, to develop in each herd of men, the very best of the best, with regard to the cult of the sword, all the fine sentiments which, united under the label of patriotism, allow the rulers to shear this flock without its perceiving that it is shorn. (Applause.)

PATRIOTISM—PRETEXT FOR

What does this patriotism resolve itself into to anyone who examines it? This patriotism which links together in the same country, in the same community of ideas, the wolves and the lambs, the exploited and the exploiters, which makes the workers and the capitalists, the national interests, has become a sentiment aiding in the conservation of society; a sentiment which links together, which maintains the class under the other. (Approval.) Patriotism is the pretext by which alone the existence of armies can be justified. Patriotism is the only pretext with which national wars can be excused. Patriotism and the patriotic religion has caused to flow—we can say this to the Radicals, who are continually bringing up again the butcheries of the Catholic Church—patriotism for fifty years to flow caused. (Applause.)

I understand that the guardians of capitalism, that the privileged ones of fortune who have the power in the present (the present) social order hold to the upkeeping of this patriotic religion, of this sentiment for social preservation. I know it, and I know equally that those people for whom their country is a mother, that these people, under pain of evidencing themselves as ungrateful sons, may be expected to good themselves, and to actually be good patriots. But what has Socialism to do with such a sentiment? Patriotism is the collaboration of classes: Socialism, as far as it may be realized, is the class struggle. Ask it rather of Citizen Guesde. Patriotism is the linking together of two classes, their intimateness, their blood communion on the field of battle; Socialism is the universal proletarian, the hand extended from one end to the other of the capitalist world against the exploiters to hold the instruments of labour. Socialism says: "Proletarians of all countries, unite, in

spite of and over and above the frontiers!" The patriot says: "If the fatherland orders you, workers of all lands, massacre one another!" That is why I have the right to tell the poor of the whole earth: "No! Karl Marx did not deceive himself and did not deceive you when he said: 'The proletarians have no country.' Yes! all fatherlands are alike to you, same whatever in all capitalist lands, it is the same regime for you, proletarians. (Approval.) The only difficulty, the only hindrance that may exist to passing from one land to another, is the barrier of language."

FATHERLANDLESS PROLETARIANS.

But, apart from this barrier, apart from this difficulty to you, proletarians, pass from one land to another, you will find there the same capitalist prisons, the same kind of barracks, the same kind of police, the same kind of Home Secretary. (Lively approval.) Pass from one land to another, you proletarians, and you will everywhere be so much cattle for laboring purposes, have no other value than the value of a piece of merchandise. Behold, the reason why you have no duties towards the fatherland; you have no duties towards this harsh, unkind, cruel stepmother; you were told the other day, you possess the fatherland, do not say ill of it, do not refuse it, do not say ill of it. Pardon me, I will say ill of it, I will attack it, I will curse the present day fatherlands, the bonds of the two classes in the bosom of each land, because we know that without the aid of acquiring the instruments of labor, production, and exchange, which form the real fatherland for you workers. (Approval.)

We had understood the gentleman should all the Radicals, including Mr. Ranc, catch the jaundiced Continue, in spite of the discreet and amiable exhortations of Citizen Lauret, to speak with minds, not the Social Union, the Anti-Patriots and the Fatherlandless.

Schmidt of the Bakers Declines Public Debate

Mr. Schmidt, editor of the International Craft Union, "Bakery Workers' Journal," wound up a number of days' work in this city in the interest of his craft (and graft) in an open meeting at Germania Hall.

He held forth in German for about three-quarters of an hour, during which he extolled the wonderful advantages of making the best possible use of the fakers' labor.

We had understood the gentleman was going to do great things to the I. W. W., and the I. W. W. was there to see him through. Well, during his long speech in both German and English, he showed clear of attacking the Industrial Workers.

At the end of his speech, the writer desired to put a question. Consent was given. Here is the question:

"I would like to ask whether the International Union of Bakery Workers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor?" Schmidt replied, "Yes."

Then I pointed out that the speaker had urged upon the bakers, for the necessity of joining the union on the ground that the employers' associations generally were organized to beat down organized labor, and that they, as bakers, could not well go to the other (craft) unions and appeal to them for help in their struggle for better conditions, unless they were organized themselves. "Is it not a fact," I said, "that the A. F. of L. holds to the theory of the mutuality of interests of employers and employees? Is it not a fact that Mr. Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor, is a member of the American Civic Federation and annually sits down at the Civic Federation banquets and drinks champagne glasses over the bakers' associations?" If the interests of employers and employees are the same, how can the employers do anything to advance their interests without at the same time advancing the interests of the employees? If your interests are the same as the interests of your employers, why do you deem it necessary to organize at all?"

"If it be true, as the A. F. of L. holds, that the interests of employers and employees are the same, why should employers build their employers' associations for the purpose of beating down or crushing labor whether organized or unorganized? The employers' associations will be the employers' associations, but the interests of labor are the same as their own?"

"I was rather shocked to hear your speaker declare that the employers' organizations existed for the purpose of fighting organized labor."

The chairman of the meeting was getting restless. I asked the privilege of extending my remarks, but was denied. I replied, Mr. Schmidt, said he would admit the A. F. of L. is not what it ought to be, but he made absolutely no effort to point out what that self-herding craft federation should be. He said, however, that in his organization there are conservatives, progressives, Socialists and anarchists; that their members could agitate for industrialism inside his organization; if they desired. This was evidently a concession thrown out at bait to encourage the I. W. W. men to walk into his little craft union outfit; but his little concession only provoked a smile. A moment later he said his organization could not leave the I. F. of L.

See their liberality. In return for your dollar initiation fee and your regular monthly dues, his international (craft) union officials will graciously permit you to advocate industrial unionism to your hearts' content, and point out the defects and crimes of the A. F. of L. inside their organization, but you may never leave that capitalist-owned, call-fakelied congregation of pure and simple dues-paying dupes.

Fellow Worker Emil Guth, Secretary of Bakery Workers' Local No. 31, I. W. W., was in the audience, and said: "This open meeting is called for all the bakers in the city. And we would like to have the matter fully discussed. We, the Industrial Workers, would like to furnish two speakers, one

in German and one in English to present our side, while No. 73 of the International Union could also furnish two speakers, so that the bakers could have more information on which their decision as to which organization best represents the interests of the workers could be based."

But Fellow Worker Guth could not get from them an agreement to this sort of an arrangement.

All this time the chairman was acting as if he were sitting on a hot stove. He was getting hot and about to boil over. The I. W. W. men were calm and thoroughly self-possessed, conscious of their superior knowledge and understanding of the labor movement and the impregnable position of the Industrial Workers of the World.

The panic of the chairman was beginning to spread to the audience. One man, a pure and simpler, arose and said he objected to the discussion being turned into politics, and the gathering into a political meeting. He was the first man to mention politics. Another gentleman, evidently anxious lest their expected new members might get away without plunking down their dollars and enrolling their names on the roster, mounted the platform by the speaker and earnestly called upon all those in the hall who wanted to join their organization, to come forward. A pause followed, but no man came forward with the coin.

Here Doyle, of the Iron Moulders' International Union and member of No. 73, I. W. W., expressed a desire to ask a question. "You speak," said Doyle, "of your progressive A. F. of L. I have been a member of the Iron Moulders' International Union for 25 years. In the last 17 years, wages have advanced in our union 25 per cent, while the cost of living has advanced 55 per cent. If you call that progress, I would like to know what you would call going backward? You speak of uniting the

divides it. Your A. F. of L. is split up into 120 rival international craft unions; and every one of them scabs regularly upon its fellow workers in other crafts. What is the difference between a professional Jim Farley strike-breaker and your craft unionist who ties himself up by agreements with the boss, binding him, in case his fellow workers in the same industry go on strike, to scab upon them to the end of his contract. The only difference lies in the fact that the professional strike-breaker gets for his dirty work from \$5 to \$7 a day while the craft unionist scab only gets from \$2 to \$3 per day."

The chairman was in a stew. He arose and in loud, disjointed, angry sentences, said: "This meeting is for bakers." And pointing to me, he exclaimed: "You can't speak." And to Doyle, he almost shouted, "You can't speak." We were enjoying the situation immensely. They were demonstrating that in the presence of the I. W. W., notwithstanding what they might think behind their backs, they were losing their heads completely, after having been completely routed in argument.

I approached Schmidt and observed, "There is no need for any man to lose his head at this meeting. We propose that a joint meeting be held of the I. W. W., and your organization, so that the matters at issue can be fully discussed. We will bear half the expenses of such meeting." His reply was a sort of sickly smile and a refusal to comply.

We of the I. W. W., are entirely satisfied with results. They caught no suckers and we got considerable advertising.

JOS. H. ARNOLD,
Secretary Local No. 73, I. W. W.,
Louisville, Feb. 16.

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